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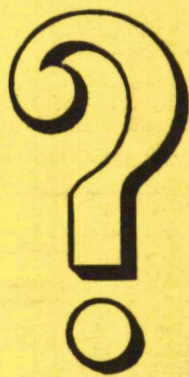
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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

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SOVIET RUSSIA

PROMISE *or* MENACE



By **ARNOLD PETERSEN**

SOVIET RUSSIA:

PROMISE OR MENACE?

By Arnold Petersen

Events which have occurred in the U.S.S.R. during the past decade have provoked much angry debate and even more idle speculation. Where is Russia headed? Back to capitalism? Straight for Socialism? Is she backtracking or detouring? Why the purge? Why do capitalist newspapers group the U.S.S.R. with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy?

This is no offhand answer. It is the critically scientific reply of a well posted Marxist who, in the tradition of Marx and De Leon, has hewn and let the chips fall where they may.

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FOREWORD.

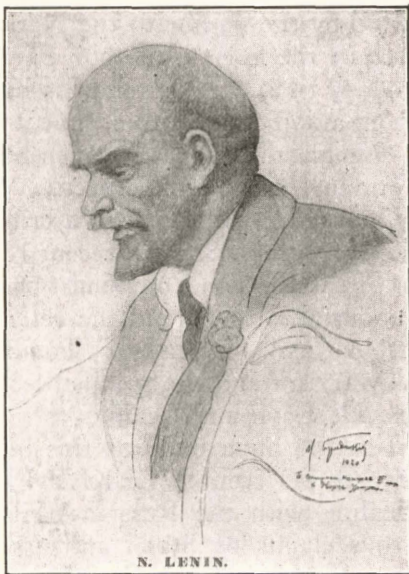
"Soviet Russia: Promise or Menace?" is a slightly revised and somewhat amplified section of the annual report submitted by the author to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party at its annual session May, 1939. An attempt is here made to answer the contention made from time to time that there are no essential differences between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, and their respective policies and programs. The reader will also find a critical analysis of that portion of Joseph Stalin's recent report to the 18th congress of the Russian Communist party in which he (Stalin) undertakes to defend the retention of the Political State in Russia, instead of "liquidating" it in keeping with Marxism and the specific declarations of Marx, Engels, De Leon and Lenin.

Appended to the main body of this booklet there will be found excerpts from WEEKLY PEOPLE articles, etc., dealing with the Russian trials, and with the preposterous claims of Stalin and associates that Socialism is now established in Russia, and the still more preposterous claim that the said "Socialism" constitutes the first step in what the Russians call Communism.

Finally, it should be noted that the contents of this booklet have been expressly approved by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, thus constituting the expression of the Party's official attitude on the questions dealt with, and concurrence in the general views expressed.

ARNOLD PETERSEN.

New York, N.Y., May 15, 1939.



"Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society.... Finally, only under Communism [i.e., Socialism] will the State become quite unnecessary, for there will be *no one* to suppress—'no one' in the sense of a *class*, in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population."—**LENIN.**

SOVIET RUSSIA: PROMISE OR MENACE?

I.

With respect to international capitalism and the international labor movement, Soviet Russia presents a series of seemingly inexplicable contradictions. Whatever may be its possible weaknesses and vulnerabilities, capitalist imperialism has at last realized—or rather, has at last acknowledged—that Soviet Russia cannot be safely ignored. Even if the Socialist Labor Party wished to do so (which it does not), we cannot ignore Russian activities and influences on the working class movements of the world. For many years now, but particularly since 1935, a debate has been going on (frequently with more heat than light) as to whether Soviet Russia was actually building Socialism in Russia, or whether the development in Russia was merely the forcing of a retarded economic development, the relative success of which has caused superficial observers, and careless non-Marxist thinkers, to draw conclusions not warranted by facts and Marxian science. We have listened to the panegyrics of those who hailed Russia as the perfect Eden, and we have listened to those who portrayed it as the materialized hell on earth. In between there have been shades and degrees of enthusiasm and condemnation. There have been those who complained that Russia had not fulfilled the promises of its supposed Marxist premises; there have been those

who accepted mere technological progress as actual Socialist achievement, the latter in a manner reminiscent of the enthusiasm of those German Social Democrat immigrants who, upon arrival in the United States, hailed America as the realization of their "Vaterland Sozialismus"! For did not America possess all the things which the German Social Democracy had fought for as "socialist" measures: the suffrage, freedom of speech and assembly, the right to organize freely, allegedly "high wages" (so high, from the standpoint of the German immigrant workers, as to suggest the full product of their labor!) and even the theoretical possibility of having their American-born sons become President of the United States? According to the crude conceptions of most of these German immigrants, this was, indeed, "Sozialismus"!

In much the same sense, then, the technological progress, the advancement in culture generally, and the fact that a particular lowly worker, and even a particular peasant, may rise to superior social and governmental positions, have prompted certain shallow thinkers to conclude that such progress in Soviet Russia actually constitutes achievements in Socialism as such.

Approaching the question, and the seeming enigma of Russia, in this fashion not only gets one nowhere, but obviously it leads one astray, and inescapably wrong conclusions are drawn. Then, again, there is the question of the Russian dictatorship, and its actual and superficial resemblances to the Fascist dictatorships—do these resemblances indicate an essential oneness as regards the respective governments, and governmental structures, of Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and — to complete the customary listing — feudo-capitalist Japan? The subject is not only a fas-

cinating one, but one which requires treatment that might easily swell to the proportions of several books.

II.

Generally speaking, the claims made that there is no difference whatever between Soviet Russia and the Nazi-Fascist dictatorships proceed from the camp of capitalism, or from avowed counter-revolutionists, or anti-Soviet conspiratorial groups. It has been somewhat startling, however, to note similar contentions made (or doubts expressed) from otherwise sound and well-posted Marxists. Among the criticisms made by sincere and convinced Marxists the following may be noted:

"Soviet Russia internally is just one more country where the workers are traveling the road toward Industrial Feudalism. In fact [it is argued] in this respect Russia is far in advance of either Germany or Italy. In Germany Hitler is controlled by the capitalist class, this also is the case with Mussolini in Italy, but Stalin is answerable to nobody. He reigns supreme attended by his satellites. An oligarchy of thugs."

Again it is argued that—

"The best of the Bolshevik elements were either killed in civil wars, or 'disposed of' by Stalin.

"The Russian Communists do not know what Marxism is.

"The Russian Communists want to stabilize capitalism."

"Germany and Italy are merely imitators of the Russians with respect to introducing Industrial Feudalism [fascism].

"All the worst features of Germany and Italy have been copied from Russian models.

"The Reichstag Fire Trial was fairer than the Russian trials from which it was copied.

"The Nazi method of silencing its escaped victims abroad by penalizing their relatives left in Germany was copied *in toto* from the Stalin method.

"They have unscrupulously distorted and falsified Marx and Engels, thus committing 'a damnable crime against the international working class,' with particular reference to their falsifications of the preface by Engels to Marx's 'Class Struggles in France' ('The Revolutionary Act,' by Engels)."

And so forth.

Offhand one might briefly answer some of these criticisms and objections as follows:

There are unquestionably tendencies toward Industrial Feudalism (fascism), notable among which may be noted the strengthening of the Political State in Soviet Russia, and the adding to the Soviet constitution some of the reactionary features of the constitutions in the so-called democratic capitalist countries. But—

Are there proofs that Soviet Russia is being driven or consciously directed toward Industrial Feudalism (fascism)?

Admitting certain tendencies toward Industrial Feudalism, may these merely be some of the attempts made by the Soviet government to placate the bourgeois democracies, in anticipation of war, and the need on the part of Soviet Russia to secure allies in such a war?

Undoubtedly, the Russians have distorted Marx and Marxism, examples of which we find in the falsification of the Engels preface to Marx's "Class Strug-

gles in France," and in the humbug of the Russians in speaking of "Socialism" being the first step in "Communism," and fraudulently invoking Marx in support of that claim.

Whatever may be the precise understanding and knowledge of Marx and Marxism by the Russians, it appears to be indisputable that the revolutionary minority consciously strive for Socialism, and generally the masses (outside the peasantry) talk the language of the Socialist Commonwealth.

It is a mistake to compare Soviet Russia with Nazi Germany for this reason (among others) that whatever the tendency at the present time may be in Soviet Russia, the fact remains that Soviet Russia has started from Socialist or Marxian premises, on the basis of an undeveloped capitalist economy, whereas the Nazi and Italian Fascist bandits have started consciously and deliberately from an anti-Marxian standpoint, on the basis of an over-ripe capitalist economy—a vital distinction to be borne in mind when it comes to forming definite conclusions, and establishing comparisons, with respect to the fascist powers on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other.

It must be remembered that Soviet Russia was steeped in economic, political and cultural backwardness, and that (contrary to Germany and Italy) the Russians are striving upward, however falteringly, and however uncertain as to the specific form of the goal at which they are aiming.

And so forth.

III.

Off-hand replies, however, will not suffice. A detailed analysis and consideration of the criticisms and

objections made (and additional ones made by out-and-out capitalist critics) are possible and desirable. These criticisms of, and objections to, and contentions generally directed against Soviet Russia, may now be summarized as follows:

1. That the Russian "dictatorship" is as ruthless as the Nazi-Fascist ditto.

2. That the "dictator"—Stalin—is answerable to no one.

3. That Soviet Russia is being deliberately and consciously directed or driven toward Industrial Feudalism, and that it wants to "stabilize capitalism."

4. That this alleged stabilizing of capitalism would in itself not warrant condemnation, if done in order to provide the economic basis for establishing Socialism. (As to this latter, we are left in doubt as to the actual supposed motive of the Russian leaders, but presumably it is to consolidate power, and amass wealth, in behalf of the Soviet bureaucracy, and those constituting the supposed "ruling group" in Russia.)

5. That Soviet Russia constitutes the model from which have been patterned the Italian and German gangster governments, and that "trials" conducted by the Nazi dictators (specifically the Reichstag fire trial) was fairer than the Russian trials.

6. That the Russians have distorted and falsified Marx and Engels.

7. From other quarters the criticism has been made that Russia is maintaining a huge military establishment (in contravention of Socialist principles) in order to protect the interests, and preserve the power, of the Soviet bureaucracy.

8. And from still other quarters that there is no freedom of speech, press and assembly in Russia.

One might think of other contentions and complaints made from time to time against Soviet Russia, but these, it is believed, are the most important ones—these are actually made, and these are implied, in criticisms by opponents of those in power in Russia. We do not pretend that it is possible to analyze, and answer in detail, these contentions within the limitations obviously imposed in a booklet. We do believe, however, that it is possible to indicate the defects of these criticisms, and to suggest the proper and logical answers or explanations. We believe it is possible for the Socialist Labor Party to do this, without abandoning the critically scientific approach, and without incurring the risk of even *seeming* to appear as “fellow-travelers” of either the capitalist or the bourgeois-communist groups, upon both of which groups the Socialist Labor Party looks with that contempt merited by those who represent or support the ultra-reaction of today.

1. There can be little disagreement that the Russian dictatorship is as ruthless as that of the Nazis. Ruthlessness, however, is not in itself something that Marxists unqualifiedly denounce. The question must be: Ruthlessness as to what, and under what circumstances? If the counter-revolution rears its head, there is but one thing to do: crush it. And no one has yet discovered a way of crushing anything softly and gently! The real question should be: Has this ruthlessness been inspired by concern for the safety of the workers' republic, or by personal considerations such as revenge, vindictiveness, etc.? That there was a well organized conspiracy against Soviet Russia, supported, if not ac-

tually directed, by foreign reactionary powers (notably Nazi) can no longer be seriously doubted. Testimony from other than Stalinist quarters proves that. To expect any government (and particularly an avowedly working class government) to sit placidly and watch such conspiracies as if they were innocent family quarrels is to expect the impossible. We may, therefore, dismiss this point as being irrelevant.

2. That Stalin is answerable to no one is a contention which seems neither reasonable, nor supported by the facts. Less than two months ago (March 10, 1939) Stalin rendered a report to the 18th Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union which must have consumed at least three hours in delivery. One who is accountable to no one need not have done that. But apart from that, to assume that one man can indefinitely maintain a de facto one-man rule is to fall a prey to the bourgeois conception of the "great man" who rules events, rather than being ruled by them. That Stalin exercises a great personal influence on affairs in Russia is obvious; that he does so out of proportion to his intellectual qualities seems certain. For nowhere has Stalin uttered an original thought, nor even restated an original proposition better than fairly well. It is equally true there exists a veritable Stalin cult, and that Stalin has been the object of foolish and slavish adulation is admitted even by his supporters. One of these, Walter Duranty, special correspondent to the *New York Times*, reported recently (April 7, 1939) in that paper the speech of one General Mekhlis, quoting this particular passage:

"Stalin—that is Lenin today. Stalin—that is victory. Stalin—that is the world commune."

Duranty's comment was:

"This last line savors to me of hyperbolic extravagance. . . ."

Despite Duranty's cautious dissent, it is clear that this sort of thing disgusts even him. The American Communist bootlickers have been even more devoutly worshipful, to the point of nausea. That Stalin apparently does not repel or even discourage it is an insight into his character. No man with any sense of proportion—one might almost say self-respect—could possibly swallow such adulatory tripe!

In this respect there is an obvious similarity between Hitler and Stalin, and generally Stalinites and Hitlerites share the leader-worship characteristic. Here again the American bourgeois communists have produced the *reductio ad absurdum*, for in this, as in everything else imported from Russia, the original is burlesqued or caricatured. As a sample, the declaration which one of the inner circle of the American Communist party, one Michael Gold, made a few years ago, may be noted:

"A leader. . . .," said Gold, "must be free of such confusion. Our lives are in his hand—we follow him when he points out the road, and we have a right to demand perfect clarity and science of him."

IV.

This, of course, is the "fuehrer" theory with a vengeance—it could not be beat by Hitler. Nevertheless, the fact that one is able to discover such abject submissiveness to the "leader's" will still does not justify the conclusion that Stalin is not answerable to anyone. One need but compare the methods of arriving at policies

in the two countries, Germany and Russia. No one reads any discussions or debates from Germany—one hears only of edicts and the decisions of one man. Even though we know that in the main, and in the long run, Hitler is simply the puppet of the German industrial feudalists, to the outside world Germany represents naked, undisguised absolutism. At the Soviet Congresses, however, there are lengthy reports of tasks accomplished, and how and why, and undoubtedly debates among the delegates. The very suggestion of such a thing in Germany is enough to produce instantly the contrast between the Russians and the Nazis. And even if it be argued that the results of the congresses are in line with the wishes of the Soviet bureaucracy—or that the congresses blindly approve proposals by the Soviet leaders—that still would be at least as “democratic” as the processes in, say, the United States of America. But it would seem that there are good grounds for believing that with all its shortcomings, the Russian democracy is more responsive to the will of the masses than in the United States. This should be said with this qualification, that probably as yet there is far from unanimity, or understanding and conscious acceptance, of the governmental programs and decisions in Soviet Russia, and this links up with the direct question: To whom are the Russian political leaders immediately responsible? — Walter Duranty has a very illuminating article in the *New York Times* of April 30, which in a way throws light on this subject. Discussing the peasant problem—that is, the attitude of the peasants (who constitute 120,000,000 out of a total population of 170,000,000) toward the government, Duranty writes (quoting A. A. Andreyef, head of the party Control Commission):

"The burden of Mr. Andreyef's speech was the link or contact between the Communist party and the peasants and he did not shrink from quoting figures to show it left much to be desired. In hundreds of rural areas there is not a single Communist cell and sometimes surprisingly few individual Communists and Communist Youth members. Even the big collective farms which one regarded as a 'stronghold of socialism' often are nearly devoid of Communist initiative and example. In short, Mr. Andreyef let the Congress know in pretty direct terms that there already was a gulf between the Communist party and the peasants. The Congress took immediate steps to remedy matters."

And pointing out that the migration of peasants to the cities drained the peasant communities of the elements that naturally would have constituted "the rural vanguard of Socialism," Duranty concludes his comments on what he designates "a big and real problem" with these rather ominous words:

"The peasants do not, it seems, blame the Kremlin for excesses and injustice, but a long time must elapse before rural bitterness and grievances are assuaged. The situation is not improved by the fact that the peasants are 'money rich and goods poor' and it is unlikely to improve as demand for consumer goods is increasing faster than the supply."

It is obvious, then, that, despite all the talk about the unity among the Russian masses, and the alleged classlessness of Soviet Russia, a condition prevails which in practise renders nugatory (to a very large degree) the alleged classlessness. Unwittingly, some of the Soviet orators admit this fact, even when insisting that

there are no longer classes in Russia. Repeatedly references are made to workers as distinguished from peasants, and in his long report V. M. Molotov, asking: "What is the substance of our plan?" answers: "*I shall begin with the working class.*" Note that: working class. And by way of contrast he continues later: "Now about the PEASANTRY." And still later he refers to "the income of the *workers*, the *peasants* and *intelligentsia*." We have here three distinct groups, each with separate and special group interests, although the differences between the interests of the "intelligentsia" and the "workers" are probably less pronounced than between these two on the one side, and the peasants on the other. How widely apart they are may be gauged by Duranty's admission that the peasant masses constitute "a big and real problem." Where such a vast mass of humanity constitutes a problem from the standpoint of government, there is not, and cannot be, either that unity implied in the term "class-less society," nor that homogeneity which is the condition for Socialist production.

From these facts, then, we may conclude that Stalin and his associates are generally answerable to the nominally ruling minority—that is, the workers and the "intelligentsia," included in which latter are, of course, the Communist leaders themselves—and that they are *immediately* answerable to the ruling party, that is, the C.P., and its congresses. And, again, it won't do to say that Stalin holds all these in his pocket, unless we accept the bourgeois claims for the "great man" who so mysteriously orders everyone about, and creates principles, policies, and singly induces action, which sets millions in motion, in definite directions, and toward definite ends, previously resolved upon by the "great

man," all by himself! All of which, however, has not necessarily anything to do with the question of whether Socialism is operating in Russia—that is another question.

V.

3. Is Soviet Russia deliberately being directed or driven toward Industrial Feudalism? It has not been possible to find any evidence of such. This is not to say that there are not powerful tendencies in that direction, but they arise, not out of the conscious will of politicians, or leaders, but out of the play of economic forces in Russia, the continued presence of the Political State, and the tendencies toward Industrial Feudalism in capitalist society generally.

Let us disregard the apparent contradiction in the claim that at one and the same time the Russians are deliberately driving the country toward Industrial Feudalism, and stabilizing capitalism. (Stabilizing capitalism—if it were possible—would preclude Industrial Feudalism, even as Industrial Feudalism would preclude a stabilized capitalism, since Industrial Feudalism means capitalism "gone to seed.") What is it the Russians are building? The only reasonable answer possible would seem to be that, according to their lights, they are building, or trying very hard to build, the material foundation for Socialism. But what is that foundation? In a word we can answer: *mass production*. But we know, of course, that mass production in itself does not spell Socialism. If it did, we in the United States would be a far greater Socialist country than Russia! It is obvious that while the *conditio sine qua non* for Socialism is a high degree of industrialization, both in manufacture and agriculture, the mere building

up of industry, even in the name of Socialism, may as readily lead to capitalism (and eventually to Industrial Feudalism) as it may lead to Socialism, unless the greatest care is taken to adjust gradually the political superstructure to the changing economic foundation. This, if done logically and consistently, obviously means that in the degree that Soviet industry and agriculture are built up, or "collectivized," with the corresponding elimination of economic classes, the functions and importance of the Political State must be reduced. When the point has been finally reached where mass production is a fact—or substantially so, that is, relatively to the extent of the United States, for example—when that point has been reached, the Political State, or whatever might be left of it, would be discarded, if it has not completely "withered away" by that time.

There is no denying that the presence of the Political State in what putatively is a Socialist Commonwealth is an anomaly—an anomaly, however, conceivably explainable or justified by reason of a backward economic development, either as in the days of Marx, or as in Russia since the revolution.

By all that is logical in Marxian science, Soviet Russia should be discarding, bit by bit, the State apparatus and by degrees be constructing the *new* governmental or administrative machinery, which, of course, *can* be nothing else than the Industrial Union government. Has Soviet Russia been doing this? The answer is no—in fact, the Political State trappings have been amplified, at the expense of the natural, i.e., logical trend toward the goal of Socialism, the Industrial Union form of government—and this is what gives Marxists pause.*

*"Citizens will vote in their place of residence instead of where they work. This partial abandonment of the older Soviet system, with its

Stalin himself, at considerable length, has attempted to explain and justify the retention of the Political State, but on grounds that Marxian science must reject. The arguments of Stalin on this head suggest the probability of a startling concept on his part, namely, that after the demise of the Political State, there will be no government at all! But before going into that, let us see to what extent the material foundation is being provided for the logical elimination of the Political State, and the rearing of the Industrial Union form of government.

In his report delivered to the recent Communist party congress, Stalin reviews the technological progress made in Soviet Russia, comparing the rate of progress, and actual productivity, with those of the outstanding capitalist countries. It will be of interest to note a few figures cited by Stalin. After pointing out the progress made in industry generally, and insisting that "as regards rate of growth our Socialist industry holds first place in the world," he asks: "In what respect are we lagging?" And he answers his own question:

syndicalist [?] connotations, is evidence to Bolsheviks of the success of Soviet Democracy. [!] It is no longer necessary, they say, to emphasize occupation instead of residence as a means of distinguishing one class from another [!]."—Joseph Barnes, *New York Herald Tribune*, December 5, 1937. Marxian Socialism declares that the Socialist Republic will rest on an *occupational basis*—that is, the governmental representation will be from industry, not from territory. It is from *industry* that Industrial Republic legislation will originate, and it is from the workshops that election of the industrial representative government will be initiated. Hence, it is in *industry* that voting necessarily must be done. Yet, the transfer of the voting place from the workshops to the residence, i.e., from the *industrial* to the *territorial*, is considered an advance toward Socialist Democracy by people who claim to be Marxists, and who insist that the Soviet constitution is proof of Soviet Russia marching forward instead of retreating backward! "The devil hath power to assume a pleasing shape." The devil of bourgeois democracy has, indeed, assumed a pleasing shape to the Russians if the new Soviet constitution is to be considered a document in Socialist governmental construction!

"We are still lagging economically, that is, as regards the volume of our industrial output per head of population. In 1938 we produced about 15,000,000 tons of pig iron; Great Britain produced 7,000,000 tons. It might seem that we are better off than Great Britain. But if we divide this number of tons by the number of population we shall find that the output of pig iron per head of population in 1938 was 145 kilograms in Great Britain, and only 87 kilograms in the USSR. Or, further: in 1938 Great Britain produced 10,800,000 tons of steel and about 29,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity, whereas the USSR produced 18,000,000 tons of steel and over 39,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity. It might seem that we are better off than Great Britain. But if we divide this number of tons and kilowatt-hours by the number of population we shall find that in 1938 in Great Britain the output of steel per head of population was 226 kilograms and of electricity 620 kilowatt-hours, whereas in the USSR the output of steel per head of population was only 107 kilograms, and of electricity only 233 kilowatt-hours."

And to show the difference between the absolute and relative in production and productivity, he continues:

"Take, for example, the output of pig iron. In order to outstrip Great Britain economically in respect to the production of pig iron, which in 1938 amounted in that country to 7,000,000 tons, we must increase our annual output of pig iron to 25,000,000 tons. In order economically to outstrip Germany, which in 1938 produced 18,000,000 tons of pig iron in all, we must raise our annual output to 40,000,000 or 45,000,000 tons.

And in order to outstrip the United States economically—not as regards the level of 1938, which was a year of crisis, and in which the United States produced only 18,800,000 tons of pig iron, but as regards the level of 1929, when the U.S.A. was experiencing an industrial boom and when it produced about 43,000,000 tons of pig iron—we must raise our annual output of pig iron to 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 tons.”

And to clinch the matter he adds:

“We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries as regards technique of production and rate of industrial development. That is very good, but it is not enough. We must outstrip them economically as well. We can do it, and we must do it. Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers’ goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of Communism to its second phase.”

Taking Stalin’s own figures, and for the same purpose, we find that economically Soviet Russia is still woefully behind the United States as regards the possibility of attaining Socialism. In other words, if we conceive the distance between the starting point and the goal of Socialism (economically speaking) to be 100 miles, then Soviet Russia has only passed the 25th milestone, while the United States has passed the 99th milestone!

Turning to Molotov’s report for a moment we find the following:

In 1928 the percentage of “workers and other em-

ployees" was 17 per cent. In 1938 the corresponding figure was 35 per cent.

In 1928 the percentage of "collective farm peasantry," etc., was 3 per cent. In 1938 the figure was 55 per cent.

In 1928 the percentage of "individual peasants and handicraftsmen not united in cooperatives" was 73 per cent. In 1938 the figure was 6 per cent.

In 1928 the percentage of what is designated "Capitalist elements (Nepmen, Kulaks)" was 5 per cent. In 1938 the figure is—zero, that is, they have allegedly been eliminated.

In 1928 the percentage of the "rest of the population (pupils and students, army men, pensioners, etc.)" was 2 per cent. In 1938 the figure was 4 per cent.

The really important facts (if they be facts) in the latter set of figures are those indicating the liquidation of the individual farmers as individual farmers, and their transformation into collectivized farmers. But according to Andreyef's statement, as cited by Duranty, the approximately 120,000,000 peasants, although "collectivized," are largely outside the sphere of conscious communism—that is, ideologically they are in no essential respect different from similar masses in capitalist countries, and in some respects, perhaps, less dependable to the Soviet regime than the corresponding element in a capitalist country would be to the capitalist government of such a country, since in Soviet Russia the private profit motive allegedly has been removed, without compensation either in increased material well-being, or in conscious and definite acceptance of the ideal and inspiration of Socialism. And here, obvious-

ly, we find the particularly vulnerable spot in the Soviet government and economy.

VI.

If the facts and figures supplied us by Stalin and Molotov are correct, and if the general conclusions drawn from these are logical, the definite conclusion would seem to be inescapable that in the face of increased productivity Soviet Russia is definitely moving toward an intensified State bureaucracy which even the fondest admirers of Soviet Russia will find it difficult to distinguish from a trend toward Industrial Feudalism, producing a condition which (with but slight effort, or under slightly varying circumstances) might easily become transformed into fascism. Yet, again it should be noted, there is no proof that the Stalin regime consciously is aiming at fascism, but rather that the logic of events is driving Russia toward that point which undoubtedly will be reached, if not checked. And it certainly will not be checked so long as the Russian leaders remain ignorant of the true nature of the form that the Socialist government must take, and the necessity of aiding the process toward it, by taking a leaf out of America's book and by learning the lesson taught by America's great Marxist, De Leon. And at present, at least, there are no signs that Stalin and his associates either can, or will, learn these lessons.

Considering, then, the trend toward Industrial Feudalism in Russia, and reviewing the figures and alleged facts by Stalin and Molotov, one would feel justified in assuming that what the Soviet government fears is either an uprising by these million-masses of non-indoctrinated peasants (or peasants not influenced by Socialist ideology), or the inability to secure their willing or

conscious cooperation for the building up of Soviet industry and agriculture. Is it, then, for the purpose of keeping in control these millions of peasants that the State machinery (for repression) is maintained; and are the steps taken, and the processes initiated, those that have given rise to the belief that deliberately Soviet power is being more and more consolidated as a central *State power*, and therefore, ultimately, as a permanently repressive, or fascist power? As to the former, perhaps so, but not if we are to believe Stalin. As to the latter, the answer is undoubtedly in the affirmative. Apparently, increasing criticism had been brought to bear on the failure of those in power to do anything about doing away with the State. That, at any rate, seems to be the only way one can account for Stalin's long, pseudo-scientific explanation as to why the State was being retained—no, strengthened, in Soviet Russia. A substantial portion of his report (exclusive of tables) is devoted to explaining this anomaly. He poses the question in the form of questions:

"It is sometimes asked: 'We have abolished the exploiting classes; there are no longer any hostile classes in the country; there is nobody to suppress; hence there is no more need for the state; it must die away. Why then do we not help our Socialist state to die away? Why do we not strive to put an end to it? Is it not time to throw out all this rubbish of a state?'

"Or further: 'The exploiting classes have already been abolished in our country; Socialism has been built in the main; we are advancing towards Communism. Now the Marxist doctrine of the state says that there is to be no state under Communism. Why then do we not help our Socialist state to die away? Is it not time

we relegated the state to the museum of antiquities?" "

Attempting very hard to talk like Lenin, Stalin observes that "these questions testify that those who ask them have conscientiously memorized certain propositions contained in the doctrine of Marx and Engels about the state," and that those having thus memorized have "failed to understand the essential meaning of this doctrine." Unfortunately for the rather lumbering Stalin, the asking of these questions shows nothing of the sort. After a long, tedious dissertation, and a long wearisome journey over the ground previously covered by Lenin, but with far less success, and after quoting the familiar passages from Frederick Engels, Stalin reiterates his contention that these critics "have overlooked the capitalist encirclement and the dangers it entails for the Socialist country." In other words, and by Stalin's specific admission, the State is retained in Russia, not to defend the workers' government against the internal enemies, but to protect the country against the "encircling" capitalist foe! This is a new claim, and a new doctrine, and already all the obsequious Stalinettes have gone into ecstasy over this latest "development of the Marxist theory"! The contention and explanation of Stalin are, of course, absurd. There is, and can be, but one explanation of, and justification for, retaining the Political State: Economic backwardness, and remnants of sufficiently powerful, or economically indispensable, bourgeois elements. Stalin says: "Now the main task of our state inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organization and cultural education." This is nonsense—no Political State is needed for such purposes!

The Stalinites claim incessantly that capitalism is

destroyed in Russia; that there is no exploitation, and no classes; that, accordingly, complete freedom exists. In his "The Proletarian Revolution," Lenin quotes Engels approvingly as follows:

"Since the state is only a temporary institution which is to be made use of *in a revolution in order forcibly to suppress the opponents*, it is perfectly absurd to talk about a free popular state. [In other words, "it is perfectly absurd to talk about a free, popular state" in Russia!] So long as the proletariat still needs the state, *it is not in the interests of freedom, but in order to suppress its opponents, and when it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist.*"

By this token, and by all the claims and protestations of Stalin, *the State in Russia should have ceased to exist.*

Stalin tries to escape his dilemma by arguing that Engels assumed a *general* Socialist society, and not Socialism in a single country. But in so doing he becomes impaled upon the horns of another dilemma. For in order to support that theory, he must insist that it was and *is* not possible to build Socialism in one country, and that would knock out his own pet argument. In fact, Stalin himself wrote in 1924: "For the final victory of Socialism, for the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of one country, especially a peasant country like ours, are not enough—for this we must have the efforts of the proletariat of several advanced countries." ("Foundation of Leninism," original edition.) Despite all this, Stalin now calmly asserts that the reason for retaining the State in Russia is the need of a State apparatus with which to defend Russia

against foreign enemies! As if the Industrial Union administration were not infinitely better suited for that purpose than the State with its clumsy apparatus, especially so since in modern wars the relation of the importance of industry to military operations is at least as seven to one—that is, industry is at least seven times as vital to successful warfare as are the armed forces in the field!

VII.

Lenin, in "The State and Revolution," argues that only "under Communism will the State become quite unnecessary, for there will be *no one* to suppress—'no one' in the sense of a *class*, in the sense of a systematic *struggle with a definite section of the population*." This certainly is clear. Yet, Stalin in his report, asking the question "Will our State remain in the period of communism also?" answers—"Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared." (Parenthetically, it is startling to note that the Russian communists as well as the Nazi bandits, almost simultaneously, adopted the propaganda term "encirclement.") In other words, if we assume that Russia otherwise is ready to scrap the State; if we further assume that there has been peace for five or ten years, with no indication of a general war breaking out, and no "capitalist encirclement" other than the presence of capitalist countries such as *must* be assumed to exist by anyone who posits the argument of "Socialism in one country" being possible—if we assume these conditions, and accordingly the State is abolished in Russia, and if we then finally suppose that suddenly a crisis developed, precipitating war, would Stalin then argue that it would

be necessary to re-establish the Political State in order to defend the Socialist fatherland? By the premises and logic of Stalin, that is precisely what he *would* argue! Thus, carrying his argument to its logical conclusion, its absurdity is exposed.

"The logic of things will speak," said Marx. The iron logic in this case is inexorable. It may take a short time for it to work out, or it may take years. In 1917 the writer was reviled for asserting that the day of Socialist Russia's victory might, in given circumstances, become the day of the defeat of Russian Socialism. In saying this he was saying nothing original, but merely taking his stand on De Leon's immortal dictum, that "without the political organization, the... Socialist movement could not attain the hour of its triumph; and without the economic [i.e., Socialist industrial] organization, the day of its triumph would be the day of its defeat." There is ample proof of the soundness of this profound observation in the development in Soviet Russia. For even if all the statistics cited by Stalin are true, the fact still remains that mere industrialization, and continued existence as a growing industrial unit, does not make of such a unit a Socialist Commonwealth. The important consideration obviously must be: Coupled with that development, is there a sound, scientific application of the Socialist governmental principle to that development?

It was suggested before that possibly Stalin entertains the notion that in what he calls the higher stage of communism, government might be dispensed with altogether, suggesting further that the only form of government conceivable is the State in some form or other. This notion, if held by him, is a combination of the bourgeois and anarchist. It is startling to find that even

Lenin gave expression to a similar, or perhaps identical, thought, and if we are correct in our surmises concerning Stalin's notions of government, it is clear, then, that he simply copied Lenin, albeit in a crude manner. In his "The State and Revolution" Lenin says:

"Under Socialism much of the primitive democracy will inevitably be revived. For the first time in the history of civilized nations, the *mass* of the population will rise, beyond voting and elections, to a direct control of the everyday administration of the affairs of the nation. Under Socialism, *all* will take a turn in management, **AND WILL SOON BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO THE IDEA OF NO MANAGERS AT ALL.**" (Caps ours.)

The notion that *all* will take "a turn in management" is scarcely less fantastic than the astounding concept of there being no managers at all! If this is not good old-fashioned anarchist doctrine, then it certainly comes mighty close to it! The saving grace in this statement by Lenin is his contradictory reference to "everyday administration." And obviously Lenin is not thinking about what some superior forms of human beings might do a thousand years, or even a hundred, years from now, in circumstances where wealth and things of consumption generally might flow as readily to the individuals as does air now, for he says that *soon* this will happen!

And again the burlesque American imitators of Stalin and Lenin may be cited as supplying corroborating evidence. In an article in the *Daily Worker* of April 30, 1938, Earl Browder dispenses this wisdom:

"Government is a necessity of social organization in any society which is divided into antagonistic classes. It

is generally recognized as desirable only because of the inability of a divided society to operate without instruments of coercion."

Here we have the flower of the seed planted by Lenin: No managers—no government!

In this amazing conception, then, may possibly be found the answer to the question: Why do the Russians fail to understand the necessity of building the Socialist Industrial Union government in Russia? The answer, then, would seem to be that they cannot conceive of any government being other than "coercive." Hence, the Political State must be preserved in Russia until the masses become so proficient in management—i.e., government—that they "soon" won't need any government (or management) at all!

VIII.

But apart from considerations as to the possibilities of Russia being consciously driven toward fascism, it would seem that there can be little doubt about the rapid growth of culture in Russia. Here, again, everything, of course, is relative. Having been steeped in superstition, darkness and poverty for so long, even a small measure of *absolute* progress would constitute an enormous measure of *relative* progress. And it is, as suggested in the foregoing, of the utmost importance to remember the fact that Russia emerged out of a stunted economic growth, having to make up, in a few years, for the neglect of centuries, and having done so (all things considered) magnificently, while in Germany and similar countries the situation is the exact reverse. And for this reason, accordingly, it would be unscientific and unfair, to compare Russia with Germany, despite

superficial resemblances. For the masses in Russia the star is still a rising one; in Germany it is unmistakably a setting one, if it has not already definitely set.

In this connection it is of interest to compare the relative importance attached to the status of the so-called intellectuals (or the "intelligentsia") in Russia and Germany. From Stalin's report figures are quoted, indicating the concern of the Soviet government for the cultural advance of the masses. According to Stalin, "state budget appropriations for social and cultural services rose from 5,839,900,000 rubles in 1933 to 35,202,500,000 rubles in 1938." These figures speak volumes. And, commenting on the increase in the cultural activities in the Soviet Union, Stalin said:

"As a result of this immense cultural work a *numerous* new Soviet intelligentsia has arisen in our country, an intelligentsia which has emerged from the ranks of the working *class*, peasantry and Soviet *employees*, which is of the flesh and blood of our people, which has never known the yoke of exploitation, which hates exploiters, and which is ready to serve the peoples of the USSR faithfully and devotedly.

"I think that the rise of this new Socialist intelligentsia of the people *is one of the most important results of the cultural revolution in our country.*" (Italics ours.)

Can anyone imagine such a note in one of the speeches of the Nazi Beast? To ask the question is to answer it.

At a meeting of these so-called intelligentsia in Moscow, the scientists, teachers, authors, poets, etc., expressed their great joy at the support received from the Soviet government in furtherance of their cultural

work acknowledging that the Communist party of Russia "displays the greatest solicitude for us, scientists"; and in resolutions adopted these savants and writers pledged their continued support to the further advance of science and culture in Soviet Russia. A resolution adopted by the writers of the Soviet Union declared in part:

"With novel and song, with story and poem, with play and essay, we shall participate in this great [cultural] work."

Again, can anyone imagine any congress of scientists and writers in the Nazi Reich making such declarations—or, rather, can anyone imagine a congress of scientists and writers in Naziland at all?!

Compare this with the reported attitude of the Nazi Beast toward the intellectuals in Germany by the poisonous "Dr." Goebbels. In an article entitled "Those Wretched Intellectuals," Goebbels is reported to have said:

"In quiet times, intellectuals are quite harmless [!], but when political developments sharpen into crises, they represent a certain danger. Then they band together in gangs, as though they were following a herd instinct. [!]

"Lacking the instinct to recognize and judge a critical situation, they take refuge in their superficial, so-called education, for the purpose of explaining and justifying their fears to themselves and others. . . .

"They are nothing but a gang of garrulous, loafing parasitic society people. How glorious in contrast is our German people and our great National Socialistic movement. . . .

"All this had to be said once to give truth its due."

Knowing what the word "truth" means in the Nazi lexicon, we may appraise Goebbels's slanders of the "intellectuals" accordingly. And as for charging the "intellectuals" with following a herd instinct — one might conclude that that master of herding and regimentation was joking, except for the well known fact that these jungle beasts have no sense of humor. However, the contrast between Russia and Germany, in this respect, as presented through the utterances of the respective spokesmen for the two governments, is so pronounced, that it becomes a bit tiresome to listen to arguments that there are no essential differences between Soviet Russia and Germany, no differences between the policies of a Stalin and a Hitler.

On one more outstanding question do we note profound differences between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. We are speaking of the so-called racial issue, with particular reference to anti-Semitism, so-called. Nazi Germany's attitude on this question is that of unenlightened barbarism, while that of Soviet Russia constitutes the attitude of enlightened, civilized man. It is not necessary to quote Nazi authorities or to cite concrete Nazi acts with respect to their attitude toward the Jews—the primitive savagery practised upon the Jewish people by the Nazi beasts is too well known, and their inhuman and brutal persecution of these unfortunate people will forever remain a blot upon the German name.

How very different is the attitude of Soviet Russia toward the Jews! An eloquent testimony on this head is found in the *Moscow News* of April 10, 1939, from which we quote:

"At one stroke the Great Socialist Revolution put

an end to the oppression of this long-suffering people and granted them, along with the other peoples inhabiting the former Russian empire, the freedom to build up their own national and social life. The widest opportunities for economic and cultural development opened before the Jewish people."

The *Moscow News* article continues:

"A brilliant illustration of the equality and fraternity of the family of Soviet peoples and their culture was the festival of the Jewish theater. The troupe of this theater was greeted by veteran actors from the Moscow Art Theater, as well as the theaters of Leningrad, the Ukraine, and numerous other national republics. Mikhoels, gifted Jewish actor, was decorated with the Order of Lenin, an honor likewise bestowed by the Soviet Government on distinguished actors from Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia....

"The 'Jewish question' no longer exists in the Soviet Union. But it is still a stark reality to modern generations of Jews who are languishing under the yoke of fascism. The plunder of Jewish homes and the massacre of Jews are the methods employed by brutal fascism to strengthen its domination.

"With a cynicism enhanced by impunity, with the openness of beasts who revel in their superior brute strength, the fascist cannibals are reviving the bacchanalia of misanthropy in the countries they have captured, profiting at the expense of pillaged Jewish shops, burning Jews alive in broad daylight, slaughtering Jewish people wholesale and openly advocating the annihilation of the Jewish people and the culture they have created.

"With their filthy boots they are trampling under-

foot the deathless works of Heinrich Heine, Lessing and Mendelssohn. They have driven Einstein and Feuchtwanger out of Germany and thrown into concentration camps thousands of eminent men of science and culture whose only crime was their Jewish origin.

"In the Land of Socialism the Jews breathe freely and enjoy the sweets of real happiness. In articles published in this issue may be seen yesterday's 'luftmenschen,' for whom there was no place on this earth, who were denied the joy of labor; yesterday's tribe of insurance agents, middlemen and matchmakers. Today they are collective farm Stakhanovites, students, airmen, border guards, distinguished men and women respected by all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

"On one-sixth of the earth's surface the curtain has dropped forever on the tragedy of the Jewish people."

Need more be said? Once more we observe a profound contrast between the Soviet and Nazi governments on a question which peculiarly has become the touchstone of civilized man and civilized conduct. For no nation or group, which officially, or as a matter of policy and principle, embraces the reactionary concept of anti-Semitism, can lay claim to the noble trinitarian badge: civilization, culture, progress. It was Frederick Engels who, in 1890, wrote:

"Anti-Semitism is the characteristic sign of a backward civilization and is therefore only found in Prussia and Austria or in [Czarist] Russia. . . . Anti-Semitism, therefore, is nothing but the reaction of the medieval, decadent strata of society against modern society, *which essentially consists of wage-earners and capitalists*; under a mask of apparent socialism it therefore only serves reactionary ends; it is a variety of feu-

dal socialism [Nazi-ism] and with that we can have nothing to do."

And turning from the strictly scientific and impersonal to the more personal, Engels concludes:

"And apart from this we owe much to the Jews. To say nothing of Heine and Boerne, Marx was of purest Jewish blood; Lassalle was a Jew. Many of our best people are Jews. My friend Victor Adler. [etc.]—people of whose friendship I am proud, are all Jews! Have I not been turned into a Jew myself by *Gartenlaube*? And indeed if I had to choose, then rather a Jew than 'Herr von. . . . !'"

The voice of Frederick Engels, co-founder of modern Socialism, is the voice of modern civilization. And certainly in this particular respect, above all others, the voice of Soviet Russia is likewise the voice of civilization, while that of Nazi Germany is the roar of the jungle beast!

Still another point might be noted in this connection. Joseph Barnes, special New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent, and one hardly to be charged with being a Bolshevik propagandist, points to numerous significant differences between Berlin and Moscow, as he puts it, in a despatch published in the New York *Herald Tribune* of April 2, 1939. He points out that Berlin is a city of military pageantry, whereas Moscow makes little military display barring special occasions, despite the fact that the Soviet army is 50 per cent larger than that of the Reich. In Berlin robot-like soldiers goose-step all over, "their uniforms [says Barnes] sparkle in the sun; when they parade even their buttons and the wrinkles on their sleeves fall into a line in a miracle of military precision."

By contrast Barnes describes the "Red Soldier": "The typical Red Army soldier is a red-cheeked peasant boy, lost in an unpressed, unhemmed great-coat which sweeps the pavement. Individual Red Army soldiers in Moscow merge into the street crowds; when they march through the streets in platoons, not on parade but on their way to a municipal bath or to change a guard, they usually sing."

Barnes asserts that "Berlin is a city of private charity. . . . with every citizen of Berlin asked to contribute what he can to relieve the distress of poor people. One Sunday every month, restaurants serve only single-course meals. . . .

"In Moscow, beggars have all but disappeared, and in other sections of Russia they are now rarely seen."

And Barnes adds this significant note: "Poverty in Russia is still a problem, but it is national poverty and not that of any one group of the population."

It would seem, then, that in these few instances cited there are established differences between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany so fundamental as to admit of no debate with respect to the groundlessness of the charge that Russia and Germany are alike—or, as the bourgeois critic usually puts it, that Russia in every respect is as bad as Germany, if not worse. And as we have seen, it is not necessary to depend entirely on the testimony of interested persons in order to form that conclusion.

IX.

4. In view of the foregoing, it does not seem necessary to consider in detail the suggestion that petty personal or private motives prompt Stalin and associates to pursue the tactics, and travel the road, they do.

There is no evidence that the Soviet leaders live a life in ease and luxury—on the contrary, there is evidence that they do not. To small men, however, power and authority constitute a potent drink which easily turns their heads. Power sometimes is desired, and held, purely for power's sake. Then, again, men in power (especially small men) frequently find themselves maneuvered into positions from which there is no escape, either with preservation of outward dignity and honor, or even sometimes preservation of their lives. In the latter case they are driven on, and compelled to compound error with error, falsehood with falsehood, until the explosion comes, or until error and falsehood are liquidated with the ones who held the power. There is great wisdom in De Leon's words, when he said: "When the sentiments and thoughts of superior men fall into the hands of little folks a mess is the inevitable result."

5. To say that Soviet Russia constitutes the model for the terrorism in fascist countries appears to be at variance with the known facts, and the conclusions one may properly draw from these. The Reichstag fire trial took place before any of the important Moscow trials were launched. Moreover, the Nazi gangsters need no model—they are past masters in terrorism and savagery. The argument, unfortunately, plays into the hands of those plutocratic interests whose spokesmen never fail to argue that Socialism is as great a tyranny as is Fascism. We know this to be a lie, and should do or say nothing that will give comfort to the enemy because of superficial similarities.*

*The Socialist Labor Party's attitude toward these trials has been made clear in articles and editorials printed in the WEEKLY PEOPLE. A summary is appended to this pamphlet. (See Appendix A.)

That injustices and mistakes were committed in the Russian trials is apparently not denied by the Russian Communists. In fact, Stalin himself makes what is probably the most damning admission in this respect. Whether the following statement by Stalin is to be regarded as an honest confession of grave error or as a bit of snivelling hypocrisy will depend upon one's possession of the facts, and one's viewpoint. Said Stalin in his recent report:

"It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by grave mistakes. *There were unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected.* Undoubtedly, we shall have no further need of resorting to the method of mass purges."

This does sound suspiciously like a confession of planned terrorism practised indiscriminately on a large scale. There seems to be an odor of sanctity and unction in Stalin's words, and on the basis of this statement alone, and lacking all the facts, one might not unreasonably brand those guilty of the "mass purges" as cold-blooded monsters. But we do not yet have all the facts, nor are Stalin and Co. all Russia.

6. That the Russians have distorted Marx repeatedly, we know. When these distortions reach the brainless American Anarcho-Communists, they achieve their final reduction to absurdities, as we have seen again and again. There is the instance cited before with respect to falsifying Engels's preface to Marx's "Class Struggles in France." It would be difficult to find a more shameless performance in infamy than that. Then there is the falsification of Marx with respect to the various stages in Communism, i.e., Socialist society. Marx is made to say that "Socialism" is the first stage

in, or approach to, Communism. That Marx never was guilty of such an absurd and meaningless claim, the S.L.P. has amply demonstrated. (See Appendix B.) It should be noted here that the American Anarcho-Communists, with brazen impudence, reprinted Stalin's recent report in a pamphlet, entitling it "From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union"! But then, as we know, against stupidity even the gods contend in vain!

7-8: On these questions, too, the S.L.P. attitude has been made clear. It is recognized, of course, that Russia must provide the means for defense against the external capitalist and fascist foe. To argue otherwise would be to take an attitude of naive simpletons. Whether or not the army in any degree or sense is being used by the Stalin bureaucracy to defend their "vested" interests as bureaucrats, is a question that cannot be discussed on the basis of available facts, except of course in the general sense that any governing group will depend upon the armed forces against rebellion or revolution. The sensational trials of the Red Army generals revealed a weakness not theretofore realized in the military forces of Russia. All sorts of charges have been made to the effect that Stalin plotted to do away with Tukhachevsky and the other generals charged with treason, some rather sensational alleged revelations having been made in the *Saturday Evening Post* during the month of April, 1939, by one of the generals who is said to have escaped, namely, W. G. Krivitsky. According to some of these "revelations," Stalin plotted to frame Tukhachevsky and the other generals six months before the alleged conspiracy against the Soviet Union was discovered. The author alleges that "Stalin executed Marshal Tukhachevsky

and associates as German spies at the very time that he was on the eve of closing a deal with Hitler resulting from months of secret negotiations." The story is too long, and too fantastic, to relate here, but if there is anything in it which is essentially true as regards the alleged collusion between Hitler and Stalin, we are certainly presented with an outstanding performance between two master-Machiavellians! And, after all, when we deal with people who openly justify acts (however criminal or degrading) by the ends in view, nothing is in the last analysis impossible.*

As to freedom of speech, etc., in Russia, there is probably all that could be reasonably expected in a country which recently has brought to book a large number of self-confessed traitors and conspirators. Often the American reactionaries taunt American Socialists by saying that if they tried to say so and so in Russia, they would be hauled before the firing squad. One must assume, of course, that these reactionaries have reference to the kind of "freedom of speech" that would require political changes conceivably leading to the overthrow of the Soviet government. For there

*In characteristic fashion the Communist party has met the charges of the *Saturday Evening Post* writer with this wholly irrelevant "reply": "General Krivitsky, you are Shmelka Ginsberg." (*New Masses*, May 9, 1939.)

The *Daily Worker* has been singularly reticent. If there has been any denial in that paper of Krivitsky's charges, it has escaped us. The "answer" of the *New Masses*, "you are Shmelka Ginsberg," is not supported by citation of facts, but if true, what of it? Unless the Communist fakers here meant the reference to "Shmelka Ginsberg" as a poorly disguised bit of anti-Semitism, there is no point to its emphasizing of the name Krivitsky being an *alias*, since there is hardly a Communist of any consequence who has not sported one or more aliases! If the *New Masses* (or the Communist party) "has the facts," as this pink organ of American Anarcho-Communism claims, it has taken good care to lock up these facts where the legitimately curious are unable to get at them!

is no indication that there are restrictions which prevent the people of Russia from discussing fully and freely problems directly relating to the Soviet economy. If the reactionaries do mean the former kind of free speech, they have no case at all, for even they would hardly argue, for instance, that in war time, or in a condition equivalent (for all practical purposes) to a state of war, the freedom of speech which would give concrete comfort and aid to the "enemy" should be permitted. Even now these same gentry tell us that when war breaks out, civil liberties will be greatly curtailed or abolished. Nor would these same reactionaries be likely to argue that either during, or immediately after the American Revolutionary War, the American Tories should have had complete freedom to conspire against the revolutionary government; nor that a vote should have been taken after the war to determine whether or not the Colonies should go back under British rule! For in the then unsettled or demoralized state of the country it is quite possible that those counterparts of our present-day reactionaries would have prevailed upon a majority to vote in favor of such a proposition! These gentlemen had better not speak too much, or too loudly, about freedom of speech, etc., in Soviet Russia.

X.

The question of Soviet Russia's support of the swindlers who operate here under the name Communist is one that must continue to engage the attention of the Socialist Labor Party, and we shall combat and expose their unscrupulousness, crookedness, and reform stupidity hereafter as we have done it in the past. The fact that the Stalin bureaucracy supports these cheap

adventurers and petty bourgeois politicians obviously cannot strengthen one's faith in Stalin & Co. Toward the end of his speech, Stalin very commendably stated:

"The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be admitted that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism."

Stalin made this statement at the very time that he and his associates bestowed praise on the American communist swindlers who, more than any other agency of capitalism or fascism, have attempted "to kill in the working class faith in its own strength," etc. The American communists have embraced completely the Roosevelt program for saving capitalism, even to the point of pledging to support a war waged by American capitalism—aye, even if that war were directed against Soviet Russia! These communist swindlers have done more than any other single agency since the heyday of the old S.P. to inculcate in the minds of the workers capitalist notions, capitalist principles, and anti-Marxian nonsense generally! They have, as capitalist "reformist hangers-on," more than any openly paid agency of capitalism, "succeeded in poisoning the minds of the

working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism," and yet they are impliedly commended by the very man who denounced those guilty of doing to the workers only one-tenth of what is done to them by the openly hired agents of capitalism!

*

The Socialist Labor Party, being Marxist to the core, does not assail Soviet Russia for not doing what in the nature of things it is not reasonable to expect it to do, nor does it slavishly or foolishly accept the fantastic or extravagant claims that Socialism is, de facto, established in Russia, nor that, because a Stalin says that thus and so is the Marxian explanation of the situation in Russia, therefore that is necessarily the scientific conclusion of Marxism. We have shown wherein we consider the Russians wrong, particularly with respect to the Political State and revolutionary Industrial Unionism. And in the latter respect we take satisfaction in recording the acceptance and endorsement by Lenin of the S.L.P. program of Socialist Industrial Unionism. We think we can do no better than to quote Lenin's own words (as reported by ardent admirers or sympathetic and honest journalists)—significant words, but words utterly ignored, and actually suppressed, by those who today are guiding the destinies of Soviet Russia, and, of course, condemned by the swindlers and unprincipled elements who in America pretend to represent the principles of Lenin. We quote first a statement made by Arno Dosch-Fleurot, correspondent to the *New York World*, published in that paper in its issue of January 31, 1918:

"Lenin, closing his speech on the adoption of the Rights of Workers Bill in the congress [of Soviets]

showed the influence of De Leon, whose governmental construction on the basis of industries fits admirably into the Soviet construction of the state now forming in Russia. De Leon is really the first American Socialist to affect European thought."

We now quote the report of an English man of letters, Arthur Ransome, whose literary qualifications and journalistic integrity cannot be impugned:

"Lenin said he had read in an English Socialist paper a comparison of his own theories with those of an American, Daniel De Leon. He had then borrowed some of De Leon's pamphlets from Reinstein (who belongs to the party which De Leon founded in America), read them for the first time, and was amazed to see how far and how early De Leon had pursued the same train of thought as the Russians. His theory that representation should be by industries, not by areas, was already the germ of the Soviet system. He remembered seeing De Leon at an International Conference. De Leon made no impression at all, a grey old man, quite unable to speak to such an audience; but evidently a much bigger man than he looked, since his pamphlets were written before the experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Some days afterwards I noticed that Lenin had introduced a few phrases of De Leon, as if to do honor to his memory, into the draft for the new program of the Communist party."

We now quote from the despatch sent to the *New York World* (and published in the February 8, 1919, issue of that paper) by Robert Minor, who until quite recently was, and probably still is, high in the councils of the American Communist party. Mr. Minor, in his despatch, said:

"Lenin said: 'The American Daniel De Leon first formulated the idea of a Soviet Government, which grew up on his idea. Future society will be organized along Soviet lines. There will be Soviet rather than geographical boundaries for nations. Industrial Unionism is the basic thing. That is what we are building.' "

Finally, we quote the words of one who has become one of the (almost) legendary heroes of the Soviet Republic. We refer to John Reed (buried with Soviet honors beneath the Kremlin wall) who (addressing the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, on May 4, 1918) said:

"Premier Lenin is a great admirer of Daniel De Leon, considering him the greatest of modern Socialists—the only one who has added anything to Socialist thought since Marx. . . . Lenin intends to translate this [biography of De Leon then being prepared for publication by the S.L.P.] into Russian and write an introduction to it. It is Lenin's opinion that the Industrial 'State' as conceived by De Leon will ultimately have to be the form of government in Russia."

The significant parts of these statements and reported views of Lenin are these:

"It is Lenin's opinion that the Industrial 'State' as conceived by De Leon will ultimately have to be the form of government in Russia."

And—

"Industrial Unionism is the basic thing. That is what we are building."

On the basis of these clear and unequivocal state-

ments by Lenin, apart from the logical and inescapable Marxian conclusions, it should be clear that the Socialist Labor Party has the right, as well as the moral duty, to point out that the present attitude and policy of Stalin and associates, with particular reference to the Political State, are violently in conflict with the teachings and utterances of Lenin.

The slogan of Lenin and his associates at the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution was: "All power to the Soviets." Long before that the S.L.P. had proclaimed: "All power to the Socialist Industrial Union of the Working Class." The words are different. The essence and the implications are identical. As De Leon put it:

"Industrial Unionism is the Socialist Republic in the making; and the goal once reached, the Industrial Union is the Socialist Republic in operation."

And by Industrial Unionism we mean in essence what Lenin meant: Supreme working class power; abolition of capitalism; and the new machinery of government designed to take the place of the Political State when a victorious working class in America shall have consigned it to the "museum of antiquities."

**ALL POWER TO THE REVOLUTIONARY
INDUSTRIAL UNION — THE WORKSHOPS
TO THE WORKERS!**

APPENDIX.

A.

RE RUSSIAN TRIALS.

The Russian trials created a tremendous sensation throughout the civilized world. As in most cases of such a nature, the Russian trials were *either* attacked and condemned as the vilest travesty on justice, and as a ruthless destruction of former associates of the founders of Soviet Russia (indeed, some of the accused were among the founders), *or* as the greatest act of justice, and as just retribution against traitors to the "Soviet Fatherland." The Socialist Labor Party alone viewed these trials objectively, and in the light of Marxism and "common sense." The following excerpts fairly represent the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party on the question:

"Russian Communists have at no time pretended that the sensational trials of the last year or so were staged to uphold any ethical principles. At no time have they preened themselves with regard to superior moral standards. Accepting them at face value, they have been concerned primarily with the task of defending and preserving the Soviet Union against its enemies—and those in control in Russia have cared little whether these enemies saluted them as 'comrades' or as 'assassins of religion and [bourgeois] liberty.' In short they cared little whether their enemies called themselves 'communists,' 'socialists,' 'fascists' or 'bourgeois democrats.' As the Stalinites see it, or profess to see it, they are, one and all, enemies of the Russian Soviet Republic, hence of the Russian

workers, and, hence further, the enemies of the international working class, and the world revolution." ("The Trotsky Trial and Soviet Russia," by Arnold Petersen, WEEKLY PEOPLE, January 1, 1938.)

Refuting a capitalist critic of Soviet Russia, the plutogogue, Walter Lippmann, Arnold Petersen in the same article stated:

"A craftier commentator on the same subject is Walter Lippmann, who sophisticates on Dr. Dewey's report in a column entitled 'Trotsky Retried.' Space does not permit a detailed treatment of this supreme plutocratic spokesman's sophistries, but briefly his thesis is that the alleged corruption (in Russia), referred to in the Dewey report, 'is not the corruption of, but the inevitable consequences of, the ideals of Communism.' Mr. Lippmann may be so ignorant, so economically illiterate, that he does not understand that principles which require for their realization universal application and adoption cannot be judged by the results flowing from their partial and limited application. He may be so stupid that he cannot distinguish between a Socialist society operating amidst interference by forces deadly hostile to it, and a Socialist society enjoying complete exercise and unhindered application of its principles. He may be so blind that he cannot see the difference between *building the foundation* for a Socialist society in a world of capitalism resisting every effort of its so doing, and the actual rearing of the Socialist structure on that necessary foundation. But it is simpler, easier, and far more reasonable to believe Mr. Lippmann a person completely *unwilling* to view the question disinterestedly and with intellectual honesty, than it is to believe him ignorant, stupid and blind. For, considering Mr. Lippmann's previous 'radicalism,' his boasted powers of analysis, and his supposed clear and keen thinking (I simply note the *claim*, without acknowledging the fact!)—considering all this, it is not possible to

identify the following with honest thinking and intellectual integrity:

'My own view [says Lippmann] is that the identification in the post-war era of progressivism with the Russian scheme of things was one of those cardinal and costly errors which plunge mankind into deep and dark reaction.'

"This is little short of infamous. Russia was plagued with the darkest and most cruel reaction any country and people ever suffered. Czarism was finally overthrown. The Russian masses were confronted with the choice of replacing the yoke of Czarism with the yoke of plutocratic capitalism, or to establish complete social and industrial democracy. They chose the latter, and unhorsed usurpation entirely. But by rejecting both Czaristic and plutocratic absolutism, the Russians, and those who supported Soviet Russia, have, according to the crafty, yet too clever Lippmann, plunged 'mankind into deep and dark reaction'! Twenty-five or fifty years from now, rational human beings will reflect on such an observation by a supposed outstanding apologist of plutocratic capitalism, and marvel at the apparent insanities and idiocies which such a one could utter as if they were the very essence of rationalism and practical sense. And perhaps they will recall to their liberated minds of the post-capitalist era the famous observation by Marx: 'On the level plain, simple mounds look like hills; and the imbecile flatness of the..... bourgeoisie is [was] to be measured by the altitude of its great intellects.'"

In an article entitled "Soviet Justice and Revolution," Arnold Petersen stated, among other things:

"To understand at all the strange drama enacted in Russia for the third or fourth time (but probably not for the last time), three incontrovertible facts must be always borne in mind. They are, in the order of their importance: (1) Soviet

Russia, avowedly anti-capitalist, avowedly aiming to establish Socialism in Russia, is surrounded by a world of capitalism, bristling with hostility, and desiring more than anything else the overthrow of the Soviet government, and the partitioning of the country; and (2) there is no way in which fundamental governmental or other important changes can be legally and peacefully effected in Soviet Russia; and (3) the Bolsheviks, official governmental, as well as dissenters, are dedicated to the proposition that the means—*any means*—are justified by the end in view. Unless these three important facts are kept constantly in mind, we shall find ourselves lost in the bogs of bourgeois hysterics and hypocrisy, or in the lurid melodramatics of journalistic fantasies. One more important consideration might be noted: egomania, which, as Daniel De Leon never tired of pointing out (speaking of the individual dissenter), 'constitutes the springs of all villainies,' adding, 'even more so than material interests.' "

And continuing, the same writer said:

"Bourgeois critics invariably sneer at Soviet Russia because of her internal trouble, because of her failure to practise 'pure' Socialist principles, because of the fact that too often justice in Russia partakes of the 'justice' associated with capitalist countries. The criticisms on this score are as hypocritical as they are beside the essential and relevant points. Soviet Russia is not a full-fledged Socialist democracy, and cannot be such while capitalism still survives in the great industrial nations of the world. No large country can exist as an autarchy in the modern world. However self-sufficient a country may seem to be, in certain vital respects it will be absolutely dependent on some other country. As an example might be noted the dependence of the United States on rubber-producing countries. If the supply of rubber were suddenly shut off to the United States, no automo-

biles could be produced, and industrial America without automobiles is obviously unthinkable. Russia, accordingly, must play the economic game of capitalism—and that, in the view of the Soviet leaders, apparently also means the political game of capitalism, i.e., capitalist imperialism. Nevertheless, for bourgeois critics to find fault with Soviet Russia because of these alleged defects, is not to convict Soviet Russia of inconsistency. *It is, rather, to condemn capitalism as an obstacle to social progress.* For, obviously, social and economic principles, which require for their realization universal application and adoption, cannot be judged by the results flowing from their partial and limited application—and least of all can they be so judged by the upholders of the very (capitalist) principles and artificially maintained conditions which inevitably prevent the universal application and adoption of these (Socialist) principles. It is as if these bourgeois critics would set fire, again and again, to important and valuable buildings, and then accuse the fire department of laxness and negligence! There is a vital difference between a Socialist (or would-be Socialist) society operating amidst interference by forces deadly hostile to it, and a genuine, full-fledged Socialist society enjoying complete freedom from interference, and unhindered application of its principles. There is a vital difference between building the foundation for a Socialist society in a world of capitalism resisting violently, and by every questionable means at its disposal, every effort of its so doing, and the actual rearing of the Socialist structure on that necessary foundation.”

Recognizing the fact that traitors will appear in any cause (however great and noble—and, the greater and “nobler,” sometimes the greater the traitors!—), the same Socialist Labor Party writer said (in the same article):

“The Socialist Labor Party is not unduly impressed with

the fact, deplorable as that fact is, of some of the most prominent men in Russia having turned traitors. In our own Party we have had similar experiences, yet the Socialist Labor Party has had no qualms in dealing properly and effectively with traitors and disrupters, no matter whether they held the lowest or the highest posts in the Party. And in our ability to maintain discipline, and dispense Socialist Labor Party justice, with complete Party, i.e., rank and file democracy and publicity we have found proof of our strength, our 'indestructibility.' And so with Soviet Russia.

"That men go wrong in great causes is a fact too well known to require proof. The Russians who have paid with their lives for their errors (whether these resulted from serious disagreement with principles or from baser motives) serve as a warning that revolutions are not to be trifled with, even though the revolutionists in command are themselves far from being spotless or correct in all details. The Socialist Labor Party has often criticized Soviet Russia, particularly with respect to its indefensible meddling in the affairs of the Socialist Labor Party, and the labor movements in countries where Russian tactics are inapplicable. We shall continue to criticize Soviet Russia when facts and departure from Marxian principles justify it. But we shall never criticize Soviet Russia merely for its acts, without regard to the circumstances which either rendered these acts inescapable, or understandable. For, once again, it must never be forgotten that Soviet Russia is menaced on all sides by forces deadly hostile to it, which threaten at all times to destroy it. Nor, again, must it be forgotten that the failures of Soviet Russia are in the main due to the fact that the principles upon which it rests require for their success universal application, and that the principles of Marxian Socialism cannot be judged by the results flowing from their partial and limited, and sometimes erroneous, application.

"As pointed out in these columns repeatedly, the issue in Russia is not merely the question of Stalin's 'economic nationalism' or Trotsky's 'world revolution' theory. As the present writer stated in the article, 'The Trotsky "Trial" and Soviet Russia,' WEEKLY PEOPLE, January 1, 1938: 'In so far as the issues involved in the Trotsky "trial" concern the "Trotskyites" and "Stalinites" they have to do in the main with the question as to whether it is possible to establish Socialism independently in one country, or whether revolutions must simultaneously (or nearly so) succeed in the rest of the capitalist world—that is, the industrially developed and dominant capitalist nations. Popularly the former theory is imputed to the Stalinites, while the Trotskyites are identified with the latter theory. *Whatever the theories may be, in actual practice neither faction adheres to the one imputed to it, or claimed by it.*' This was strikingly demonstrated when a few weeks ago Stalin virtually issued a call for world revolution, and appealed for the support of workers everywhere, thus seemingly stealing Trotsky's thunder, and apparently rejecting his own earlier policy. As has just been shown, neither is true, for the reason that world revolution has always been the slogan of the Russians (and of Marxists generally, for that matter), while since the Bolshevik revolution it has never been denied that every effort should be made to build up Russia industrially, pending revolutionary successes elsewhere. Hence, the issues are far deeper than mere ideological differences between the Stalinites on the one side, and the Trotskys and Bukharins on the other. But if capitalist commentators play up these would-be personal differences between Stalin and Trotsky, they are not altogether to blame, since the Stalinites have elected Trotsky as the Soviet Devil, while the Stalinites have all but transformed Stalin into a Jehovah! The fundamental issue, of course, is: Shall, or can, dying capitalism be saved, and, if not, shall the principles of Marx-

ism (call them Communism in Russia and De Leonism in America, if you like!) be applied to a fundamental reconstruction of society? Soviet Russia, in the eyes of the capitalist world, stands as the embodiment of Marxian principles, and as a deadly menace to capitalism. Hence, their persistence and unscrupulousness in attempting to disrupt, dismember and destroy Soviet Russia, and hence further the 'disturbances' in Russia, with its multitude of spies and traitors. What every sensible and clear-thinking person should say to himself is, not that it is surprising that these traitorous acts are committed, and that these trials of former trusted revolutionists are held, but rather that it is surprising that there are so few traitors and spies uncovered in the vast domain of Russia, and that, relatively, so few trials have been held! Human beings, and human nature, being the same the world over, it would be astounding if ambitious or weak men did not succumb to temptations—temptations prompted either by the egotism spoken of by Bukharin, or by the usual motives flowing from cupidity, the love of ease and luxury, in a world seemingly gone mad and (to some) hopelessly beyond saving."

Concluding his comments on the Russian trials, in the WEEKLY PEOPLE of March 26, 1938, Arnold Petersen said:

"Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the importance of individuals of great ability, or great and ruthless ambition, individuals are not now, and will not in the future become, determining factors. The world is on the eve of the greatest revolution in history. The Russian trials, the conquest of Austria and Central Europe by Hitler's Nazi bandits, the conquest (?) of China by the Mikado's gangsters, the bleeding to death of Spain by the Pope's henchman, Franco; the marauding expeditions of the ruffian, Mussolini—all these

are what in the ring are called preliminary bouts. They are curtain-raisers for the great drama about to be enacted. It behooves all clear-thinking Marxists not to be led astray by the dramatic trials in Moscow, one way or the other, nor by the clamorings of the reformers and burlesque bolsheviki in this and other countries. The battle-lines will eventually shape themselves with the international capitalist robber class on one side, and the international, exploited proletariat on the other. And when the battle-lines are being finally formed, Soviet Russia (if she and her leaders remain true to Marxian principles) will be found on the side of the Socialist Labor Party and its principles, while the muddleheads, sentimentalists, traitors and renegades will line up with the capitalist reaction, where, in fact, they are already to be found. And a Foster, a Browder, or their successors in the dock will present no prettier sight than did the Bukharins, Rykovs, Radeks, Zinovievs, et al. Soon 't will be—

‘....The last call to battle—
Close the ranks, each in place!’ ”

Accordingly, not censure and condemnation, but understanding and interpretation in the light of Marxism, have been the aim of the Socialist Labor Party with respect to the “Russian trials.”

B.

The grotesque, utterly fantastic and unreal, and (from the Marxian standpoint) altogether unscientific arguments advanced by Stalin and associates with respect to “Socialism” constituting the “first step toward ‘Communism,’ ” have been dealt with repeatedly by the Socialist Labor Party. Officially, and in considerable detail, it was treated in the report of the National Executive Committee to the National

Convention of 1936 (prepared by Arnold Petersen), and from that report the following is quoted:

"We have not the time now to go into this question, or the important subject of 'early Socialism,' and all that is implied in the various contentions made by the Russian Communists.It is with regret that we have to recognize that responsibility for a good deal of this nonsense must be fastened on Lenin, who in so many other respects rose superior to his time and environment, but facts leave us no alternative.*"

"In 'The Gotha Program' Marx speaks of the 'first phase of Communist society,' and of the 'higher phase of Communist society.' It is important to remember that whenever Marx and Engels used the terms 'Communism' and 'Socialism' they meant by those terms the identical thing. They meant the identical thing for the reason that they *were* and *are* the identical thing, provided one understands by both terms the society based on the principles identified with Marxism. In the early period of the movement the Socialist movement was re-

*Ten years ago the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party stated, in his report to the 1926 session of the N.E.C., the following:

"Through one of those strange contradictions which sometimes defy analysis, the foremost leader of the Russian Revolution, Nicolai Lenin, at one moment gives almost unqualified approval to the foremost Marxian Socialist of modern times, Daniel De Leon, and yet, the very next moment, so to speak, endorses the very elements, principles and tactics which constitute the antitheses to De Leonism and De Leon's work. It is not the purpose here to go into a detailed explanation of this seeming phenomenon. It is a subject which will form part of a critical analysis of Lenin and his work—a critical analysis that sooner or later will have to be made and which can only be made by an S.L.P. man. The capitalist apologist or bourgeois liberal is, of course, incapable of appraising the character and work of such a man as Lenin, and the crowd of fanatical worshipers and agents provocateurs, that make up the burlesque crowd, are, of course, equally incapable of doing so. Such a critical analysis will reveal parallels and contrasts between Lenin and De Leon. It will reveal that while both men were Marxists, both were able to arrive at almost diametrically opposed conclusions with regard to policies and tactics. These contrasts cannot be explained on any grounds of personal idiosyncrasies or intellectual shortcomings or su-

ferred to as the *Communist* movement—hence ‘Communist Manifesto.’ The reason for this designation was the existence of visionaries who called themselves Socialists, i.e., *Utopian Socialists*, and in order to dissociate themselves completely from utopianism, Marx and Engels found it necessary to discard the term Socialism. Later, when Utopian Socialism ceased to have any influence whatever, the term Socialism was adopted. The important point to remember is that both Marx and Engels always regarded ‘Socialism’ and ‘Communism’ as synonymous terms. At no time did they regard ‘Socialism’ as a phase of ‘Communism,’ or ‘Communism’ as a phase of ‘Socialism.’ It is most important to note this. When Engels prepared for publication one of his most famous works, he did not call it ‘Communism from Utopia to Science.’ He called it ‘*Socialism* from Utopia to Science.’ When Marx and Engels issued their immortal manifesto they did not call it ‘Socialist Manifesto.’ They called it ‘*Communist Manifesto*.’ In each instance Marx and Engels meant the same thing, namely, what we today call *Socialism*, and more specifically *Marxian Socialism*. And when they spoke of *Communist society* they had in mind what at other times they designated Socialist society—the term now universally accepted as the

periority. They can be explained only on the ground that one of these men was born and reared in Russia, the most backward of all modern great countries (economically speaking) and that the other spent his adult life in the United States, the most progressive (again economically speaking), the most highly developed capitalist country in the world. The fact of Lenin’s having been born and reared in Russia, with all things Russian forming a starting point for the development of his theories, placed him at a disadvantage. Though in the current sense Lenin was certainly an internationalist, yet in the most real and least spectacular sense he was essentially a nationalist. Russian history, Russian traditions, Russian revolutionary experiences dominated almost completely his entire mind, and furnished him with premises that could but lead to conclusions peculiarly suited to, as they certainly reflected, Russian conditions. On the other hand, De Leon enjoyed the advantage of having as his environment the most highly developed capitalist country in the world.”

proper designation of the class-less, non-political, no-state industrial cooperative commonwealth.

"Bearing all these things in mind, it is with amazement and disgust that we turn to Lenin's treatment of the subject in his brochure entitled, 'The State and Revolution.' Here he says: 'And here we come to that question of the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism....' 'Scientific difference'! Scientific difference between two words that mean exactly the same thing! To be sure, Lenin does make the point that 'that which is generally called Socialism is termed by Marx the first or lower phase of Communist society.' But that explanation increases the iniquity of this playing fast and loose with terms. For in referring to 'that which is generally called Socialism' Lenin is guilty of surreptitious injection of premises—the injected premises being that Marx tacitly recognized a distinction between 'Socialism' and 'Communism,' and that such a distinction in any case constituted a difference in *kind*, instead of a mere difference in *degree*. (Marx, of course, did nothing of the kind. That Lenin could have been guilty of such reprehensible juggling with terms and concepts is, indeed, amazing, until we remember that in other respects he has recommended the use of unscrupulous methods. (As, for example, when he counsels double-dealing tactics—see his advice in "'Left Wing" Communism,' where he says, 'It is necessary...., if need be, to resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge, to *anything* in order to penetrate into the Trades Unions....' In what appears to be another version of the same statement Lenin is quoted—in an American Anarcho-Communist pamphlet entitled, 'Should Communists Participate in Reactionary Trade Unions?' by Lenin—as advising the Communists to 'practise trickery, to employ cunning, and resort to illegal methods—to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth....' How literal the Anarcho-Communist unprincipled scoundrels

have taken Lenin is well known! In this respect Lenin is the very opposite of Marx, Engels and De Leon who, in their stern intellectual probity and integrity, spurned double-dealing tactics. As De Leon put it: 'Pantomimes, mummery and double sense are utterly repellent to, and repelled by, the Proletarian Revolution.' However, what Lenin started, his followers have carried on, and with the added corruption which inevitably follows when an illogical or immoral principle is adopted by second and third-rate imitators of the one who originally laid down that principle. The nonsense about the difference between a 'Socialist society' and a 'Communist society' reached a new high last fall when Joseph Stalin, with much affectation of erudition, discoursed upon this 'difference.' The so-called 'Stakhanov movement' furnished the text. The 'Stakhanov movement' was nothing more nor less than a crude and instinctive effort made by a workingman, Stakhanov, to speed up production. As Stalin put it: '...the Stakhanov movement...represents a model of that high productivity of labor which only Socialism can produce and which capitalism cannot produce.' This naively absurd declaration is made by a man who knows that his words will be read by workers in the United States, where the 'Stakhanov movement' would be considered outdated by reason of the fact that the productive technique and capacity of American capitalism far outdistances the relatively feeble efforts of the Stakhanovites. But the occasion furnished Stalin with the opportunity to serve a warmed-up dish of Lenin's hash about the difference between 'Socialist society' and 'Communist society.' And what a hash Stalin serves! 'The Stakhanov movement,' said Stalin, 'represents the future of our industry.' So far so good. 'It contains the kernel of the future cultural and technical advance of the working class.' Let that pass. But when he says that 'it opens before us the road upon which alone can be achieved those high-

er records of labor productivity which are essential to the *transition from Socialism to Communism* and to the elimination of *the difference between mental and manual labor*'—when he utters such nonsense we in the United States who have economically, industrially, passed that 'initial stage' long ago, must smile, or roar, as our varying temperaments may prompt!

"The mischief done by such nonsense is incalculable. One of its results is to maintain, and add to that sense of the unreal, the fantastic, and in most cases utterly burlesque character of what passes for Communism in such highly developed countries as the United States. Another result is the production of books by the horde of would-be intellectuals who are attracted to Anarcho-Communism as bees are attracted to honey, and who find a ready market for their literary groceries among the 'faithful.' With the most solemn faces, the Anarcho-Communist simpletons and fakers repeat, and embellish upon, the nonsense until we have a feeling as if we were visiting a Dr. Tarr and Professor Fether's *Maison de Santé*, or, in simple English, a lunatic asylum as described in Poe's tale. What these people fail to understand is that the more highly developed capitalism is, industrially and in every other way, the less need will there be of periods wherein all these painful efforts to increase production are vital, and the more unreal, accordingly, must such talk sound in a country such as the United States, where most of these problems are already solved—*right within the shell of capitalism*. They fail to understand that 'with the varying degree of development of productive power, social conditions and the laws governing them vary too.' When they quote Marx on the difficulties to be encountered in the early phase of Socialist society, they fail to understand that the tremendous degree of development that has taken place since Marx obviously has caused a change in the social conditions, and in the laws governing

them. They have completely failed to grasp the simple fact that economically, from the viewpoint of production capacity, we in the United States are now, *de facto*, in that higher *economic* stage implied in Marx's reference to the higher phase of Socialist society. And that, therefore, in this country all this talk about transition measures, *political dictatorship*, survival of capitalist practices, etc., etc., becomes unintelligible gibberish—as unreal, for instance, as if someone were to speculate on our being able to manufacture enough stage coaches so that everybody might take a ride!"

There is hardly any need at this time of adding to what has been quoted in the foregoing. To repeat: Marx and Engels used the terms "Socialism" and "Communism" as synonyms, i.e., interchangeably. Emphatically they did not employ these terms as expressing different social systems, or as different stages in future society. To clinch the matter once more, we quote the following from Marx's essay, "On the King of Prussia and Social Reform":

"The revolution as such—the overthrow of the existing power and the dissolution of the old condition—is a political act. But without a revolution, SOCIALISM cannot be enforced. It requires this political act, so far as it has need of the process of destruction and dissolution. But where its organizing activity begins, where its proper aim, ITS SOUL, emerges, there SOCIALISM CASTS AWAY THE POLITICAL HULL." (Caps ours.)

In short, SOCIALISM, in the conception and language of Marx (and Engels), is *the finished product*. And that definitely disposes of the humbug and unscientific nonsense of the Russians when they talk about "Socialism" being the lower stage of a wholly mythical and undefined "Communism"!

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